SPANIARDS, INDIANS, AND LANDSCAPES: INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND SPANISH EXPEDITIONS ON NEW SPAIN'S NORTHERN FRONTIER

by

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of
The University of Utah
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of History

The University of Utah

August 2009

THE UNIVERSITY OF UTAH GRADUATE SCHOOL

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ABSTRACT

Indigenous peoples played a central and indispensable role in Spanish expeditions into New Spain's northern frontier. Throughout the colonial period, expeditions ranging from Pánfilo de Narváez in 1528, to Pedro Vial in 1792, relied on Indigenous peoples as guides, interpreters, and, most importantly, as sources of information on food, water, and mineral resources available in the areas through which they traveled.

Although Indians played a vital role in Spanish expeditions throughout the colonial period, the ways in which Spaniards interacted with Indigenous peoples changed dramatically between the sixteenth century and late eighteenth century as a result of cultural, military, and economic factors. While the roles of Indians in facilitating entradas remained the same, the development of a system of interdependency and alliance transformed the nature of Spanish-Native relations. To illustrate this key difference, this paper compares the role of Indigenous peoples in expeditions led by Pánfilo de Narváez (1528), Hernando de Soto (1539), and Francisco Vázquez de Coronado (1540), in the early colonial period, to those of Juan María Antonio de Rivera (1765), Juan Bautista de Anza (1774), Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Silvestre Vélez de Escalante (1776), and Pedro Vial (1792) in the late colonial period.

For my parents, Brent and Peggy,
who taught me to cherish knowledge

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INTRODUCTION

Although popular notions of Spanish conquest and expansion in the Americas have traditionally centered on Europeans, scholars have long recognized, at least to a certain extent, the contributions of Native allies.[1] More recently, such historians as Matthew Restall, Laura Matthew, and Michel Oudijk have argued that Indigenous allies played an indispensable role in the conquest of Mesoamerica and the Andean region--both on the battlefield and as providers of provisions and shelter between campaigns.[2] Although these studies point out the importance of Indigenous allies in the Spanish conquest of sedentary empires in Mesoamerica and the Andes, the role of Native peoples in Spanish expeditions on New Spain's northern frontier has received far less attention.

With their extensive knowledge of local geography and natural resources hidden within the landscapes around them, Indigenous peoples played a crucial role in the success of Spanish *entradas*, or expeditions, in the Mexican North. As intermediaries between entradas and the landscapes through which they passed, Native peoples led Spaniards to scarce waterholes and traded plant and animal products harvested from North American ecosystems. In addition, Indigenous guides navigated complex cultural and physical landscapes as they steered expeditions toward objectives such as river crossings and away from the territories of hostile groups. In this way, Indians on the northern frontier of New Spain played equally critical roles in Spanish expansion as their counterparts in Mesoamerica and the Andes.

This paper analyzes the journals of seven Spanish expeditions on the northern

frontier of New Spain over a period of three centuries. It argues that Indigenous peoples played a central and indispensable role in Spanish expeditions. These entradas, ranging from the earliest one led by Pánfilo de Narváez in 1528, to the latest one led by Pedro Vial in 1792, relied on Indigenous peoples as guides, porters, and, most importantly, as sources of information on food, water, and mineral resources available in the areas through which they traveled.

While a significant body of secondary literature on the journals of expeditions into the northern frontier of New Spain is available, as a rule it presents a narrative account of the feats of Europeans. This literature does an excellent job of providing narratives of the expeditions, critical insights into the economic, social, and political background of expedition leaders (and sometimes members), and the various reasons that expeditions were launched. Although this literature frequently mentions Indians, it does not address the critical role Native Americans played in the success of Spanish expeditions. This paper therefore seeks to bring to light the long-overlooked role of Indigenous peoples in Spanish expansion into the North American frontier.

Although Native peoples played a vital role in Spanish expeditions throughout the colonial period, I argue that the ways in which members of Spanish expeditions interacted with Indigenous peoples changed dramatically between the sixteenth century and the late eighteenth century. While the roles of Indians in facilitating entradas remained the same, the development of a system of interdependency and alliance transformed the nature of Spanish-Native relations. To illustrate this key difference, this paper compares the role of Indigenous peoples in the expeditions led by Governor Pánfilo de Narváez (1528), Governor Don Hernando de Soto (1539), and Governor

Francisco Vázquez de Coronado (1540), in the early colonial period, to those of Juan María Antonio de Rivera (1765), Colonel Juan Bautista de Anza (1774), Frays Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Silvestre Vélez de Escalante (1776), and Pedro Vial (1792) in the late colonial period.

Although their work does not specifically deal with expeditions on New Spain's northern frontier, renowned historians David Weber and John Kessell also argue that the nature of Spanish-Indian relations changed over time. Weber, for his part, highlights official state involvement and enlightenment ideals as central causes in the changing ways in which Spanish expeditions related to indigenous peoples over the course of the colonial period. In discussing the maritime expeditions of Gaspár de Portolá, Weber states "in this state-run enterprise in the Age of Enlightenment, Portolá's men did not kidnap, torture, or raid Indians or use them as beasts of burden-this in sharp contrast to Spanish behavior on the privately financed entradas of the sixteenth century under Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, Hernando de Soto, and others."[3]

In his book *Spain in the Southwest*, John Kessell argues that there were "three great swells of Spanish exploration and discovery" during the colonial period: one of conquest from about 1540-1610, a second, which centered around imperial defense, in the 1680s and 1690s, and a third, in the 1770s-1790s, during which Spaniards sought to reassert claims to their northern frontier in the face of expansion by imperial rivals.[4]

In the interest of focusing on entradas into new regions, I do not include expeditions from Kessell's second stage, which deals with "imperial defense, as Indian Nations fought back and Frenchmen challenged Spain's exclusivity west of the Mississippi."[5] Although settlement expeditions, such as those of Eusebio Francisco

Kino and of Diego de Vargas, took place during the mid-colonial period, these expeditions aimed primarily to colonize areas through which Spaniards had previously traveled.[6] I therefore turn from expeditions of the 1500s to a renewed interest in reconnoitering New Spain's northern frontier during the late colonial period that came about as a response to Russian, British, and American expansion.

Despite agreeing with Kessell's "three great swells of Spanish exploration and discovery," I disagree with his terminology. Although for Spaniards all expeditions led to a great deal of "exploration and discovery," I argue that, in truth, they did not explore or discover much at all, as the Indigenous inhabitants of these regions already knew North American landscapes intimately. Indigenous knowledge allowed Native peoples to guide Spanish "explorers" through unfamiliar terrain and interpret unfamiliar cultural landscapes. I therefore use the terms expedition or entrada to refer to groups of Spaniards traveling through North America, avoiding such loaded terms as "explorer."

In the sixteenth century, Kessell's first "swell," most expeditions were privately funded ventures whose leaders had broad powers bestowed on them by the Spanish crown. With few food stores and large contingents of armed men, Narváez, Soto, and Coronado showed little restraint in using violence to wield coercive power over Indigenous groups throughout large portions of the southern reaches of North America as they searched for mineral wealth and large sedentary empires who could provide them with labor. These sixteenth-century expeditions used aggressiveness, surprise, steel weaponry, and the speed and efficiency of mounted warfare to obtain Indigenous products and services. Thus, despite losing men to indigenous warriors, early Spanish expeditions obtained foodstuffs, guides and interpreters, and small amounts of minerals

from Indians forced into submission through either violence or intimidation.

Pillaging, however, proved costly both in terms of relations between Spaniards and Indigenous peoples, and in terms of hardships inflicted on Indians. As early as the late sixteenth century, both the Spanish crown and individual expeditions sought to limit the effects of pillage on Native populations. According to historian David Weber, Adelantado Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, who founded settlements in Florida in the late 1560s, "learned from the mistakes of his predecessors, he ordered his followers not to pillage Indian villages."[7] The Spanish crown took measures a step further in 1573, when Felipe II, King of Spain, issued the Comprehensive Orders for New Discoveries. These orders limited entradas and demanded that "pacification of new lands" center around missionary efforts.[8]

Concerned with securing the northern frontier, Spanish authorities at the regional and viceregal level encouraged and sponsored many maritime and overland expeditions in the later part of the eighteenth century. In fact, The Domínguez-Escalante and Anza expeditions are part of a particularly intense period of route establishing that David Weber refers to as "the reconnaissance of 1774-1776."[9] However, by the late 1700s, when the expeditions of Anza, Rivera, Domínguez -Escalante, and Vial reached into the Mexican North, the context of traveling through New Spain's northern frontier had changed dramatically. Centuries of interaction with Spaniards meant that Native peoples in the desert southwest were aware of Spanish strength, arms, and strategies. These groups also possessed horses, which not only improved their military capacity, but also allowed them to travel to Spanish settlements such as Santa Fe and Albiquiu to trade.

The types of Indigenous peoples Spaniards encountered had a tremendous impact

on Spanish expansion into New Spain's northern Frontier. In fact, early expeditions traveled through areas inhabited by sedentary and semisedentary Indians so as to have a readily available food supply. Not until the late colonial period did expeditions venture into areas inhabited mainly by semisedentary and nonsedentary peoples. Relatively small group sizes allowed these expeditions, particularly the Domínguez-Escalante expedition, to trade for items such as piñon nuts with nonsedentary hunter-gatherers. Even in this period, Anza and Rivera traveled through areas inhabited mainly by semisedentary peoples who spent at least part of the year growing maize, squash, and other crops. In addition, nonsedentary groups proved difficult to subjugate as they were nomadic and individuals within the society enjoyed a high degree of autonomy.

In his book *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment*, David Weber discusses interactions between Spaniards and nonsedentary Indigenous peoples throughout Spanish America. He argues that nonsedentary groups dwelling on the fringes of the Spanish Empire (whom he terms "independent Indians"), established a military parity with Spaniards that allowed them to maintain autonomy throughout the colonial period, often times trading Spanish booty to imperial rivals in exchange for European goods and firearms.[10] In fact, Weber notes that "to the distress of their Spanish neighbors, Indians used Spanish firearms skillfully."[11]

Over time, Indians, both bellicose and friendly, developed a desire for certain European goods and animals, such as livestock, metal implements, and guns. Because of their above-mentioned military capacity and ability to disperse into small groups difficult for Spaniards to pursue and capture, nonsedentary peoples could select which elements of European culture to adopt. An independent Indian leader in Patagonia, for

example, introduced himself to the crew of the Spanish ship *Santa María de La Cabeza* as Francisco Xavier, spoke Spanish and dined with the crew on board their ship "dexterously using fork and spoon' while declining wine and brandy because of its ill effects."[12] He also mixed his clothing, sporting both indigenous weapons and a saber, and wearing Spanish dress under his *guanaco* hide coat.

According to Weber, "vast trading networks developed in frontier zones where the economies of Spaniards and independent Indians articulated with one another."[13] Later expeditions thus had the option of trading with peoples who were politically independent, yet interested in European material goods that Spaniards could furnish. Spanish expeditions in the late colonial period continued to rely on Indigenous goods and services, as had sixteenth-century entradas, but the development of a complex economic, political, and cultural interdependency between Spaniards and Native peoples gave expedition leaders alternatives to violence to obtain them.

Concerned with establishing positive diplomatic relations with Indigenous groups, and lacking large contingents of armed men, these expeditions usually offered European material goods in exchange for food and services.[14] Thus, in the late colonial period, the combination of existing alliances and government mandates to establish positive relations, official policies prohibiting atrocities against Indigenous peoples, and the small size of eighteenth-century entradas, meant that these expeditions carried extra material goods for trade and pursued the strategy of trade and gift-alliance to convince Native peoples to mediate between them and the unfamiliar landscapes through which they passed.

Gifts had played an important role in Spanish-Indigenous relations since the

beginning of contact, but that role increased during the late colonial era as Spaniards "saw gifts and entertainment as essential to establishing and maintaining good relations with independent Indians."[15] Through gift-alliance systems, independent Indians could be convinced to assist Spanish expeditions and permit them to travel through their territory unmolested, for according to Weber, "these gifts...incorporated Indians symbolically into the Spanish sphere."[16]

The trade of goods for Indigenous services became so commonplace by the mid-eighteenth century that even individual men traveling through the southwest traded goods either from Europe or distant areas of North America for food and guiding services. David Weber gives the example of Father Garcés, who traveled alone through Arizona and New Mexico in early 1776, exchanging shells and tobacco for food, shelter, and guides. When, near the end of a trek, Hopi Indians refused to guide him or provide him with food, Garcés had to turn around and retrace his route.[17] This shows how much Spaniards had come to rely on gift-alliance as a means of resupplying themselves and negotiating unfamiliar terrain.

Once integrated into either a system of gift-alliance or at times even a market economy, Indigenous peoples proved quite willing to trade products from their ecosystems, such as foodstuffs, hides, and beeswax, for European manufactured goods. As Cynthia Radding states in regard to the complex interactions between missionaries, merchants, and Indigenous peoples, "all parties were mainly concerned with keeping goods and produce circulating in a regional commercial system that bred interdependence."[18] As centuries passed, gift-alliances and the exchange of European goods, including religious objects such as images and statuary, played a central role in

the relationships of Spaniards with Natives influenced by Western culture.[19] Material exchange therefore came to replace violent coercion as the preferred method of obtaining goods harvested and produced by Native peoples.

To illustrate the ways in which the members of Spanish expeditions interacted with Indigenous peoples throughout the colonial period, this paper examines four ways in which Native peoples served as intermediaries between Spaniards and North American landscapes. They include the provision of foodstuffs, the location of water sources, and the provisioning of Indigenous guides and interpreters to aid expeditions as they moved through geographical and cultural landscapes. For each of these topics, I examine expeditions by time period to highlight the distinct ways in which early and late colonial Spanish expeditions interacted with Native peoples.

SOURCES

As Indigenous groups of the Mexican north did not leave written records, the main source to investigate the role of Native peoples in facilitating Spanish expeditions are expedition journals written by Spaniards. Unlike many primary sources such as wills, baptismal records, and letters, scattered throughout Spain, Mexico, and the United States in various archives, expedition journals are readily available. In fact, most university libraries hold published transcriptions that provide the same information as the archival originals. I have therefore been able to consult transcriptions of all the expeditions I discuss in this paper except for those of the Elvas account of Soto's expedition and the diary of Pedro Vial; I rely on translations for these, since transcriptions are unavailable and the originals were composed in Portuguese and French, respectively. Spanish expedition journals provide incredible insights into Spanish-Indigenous interactions on New Spain's frontier. These journals present eyewitness accounts of Spanish expeditions, including the best and most complete picture of how the members of an entrada interacted with Indigenous peoples and the terrain through which they passed. Expedition journals also provide the historian with rare insights into perspectives and worldviews of Spaniards who penetrated the interior of North America.

I have selected seven of the most complete published journals available from expeditions that moved into New Spain's northern frontier, yet even they provide an uneven account of the entradas, varying in length and extent of detail. Individual expedition members wrote accounts of the Coronado, Narváez and Soto expeditions

years after the actual entrada, which means that these sources tend not to record many of the details of daily life, such as finding water, that might present clues to the role of Indigenous peoples. Retrospective accounts often downplay the role of Indigenous assistance or label terrain and Indigenous peoples as exceedingly hostile in an effort to glorify Spaniards' efforts, or vindicate the failure of an expedition to meet its objectives. Letters from Coronado and his men, although written during or immediately following the expedition, also focus on the large social and political picture of searching for Cíbola rather than on everyday experiences, such as locating water, in which Native peoples may have played an important role. At times we also do not always know who wrote a given journal, as is the case with what is the most complete account of the Soto expedition, published in 1557, by "a gentleman from Elvas."[20]

Rivera, Anza, Escalante, and Vial, in contrast, recorded their experiences on a day-to-day basis during the expedition, providing accounts of difficulties in navigation and the location of water sources, for example, while it remained fresh in their minds. Specific examples of Indigenous aid are therefore abundant in these more detailed accounts from the late colonial period.

Taking into account the source material of journals, I have selected the resources of food, water, guides, and interpreters as topics for analysis. There are many other areas in which Native peoples facilitated Spanish expeditions, including roles as porters and sexual partners, but I focus on the above mentioned areas because these roles were significant both across time and a wide variety of expeditions. Since eighteenth-century expeditions, for example, did not force Indigenous peoples they encountered to transport their belongings as human porters, I do not include this as one of my topics. In addition,

due to the traveling nature of expeditions, this paper is limited to resources and services necessary to move through an area. I therefore do not discuss how Spaniards and Indians exchanged agricultural techniques, spiritual beliefs and gender norms, for example, as these fascinating aspects of Spanish-Indigenous contact are not directly related to traveling through unfamiliar landscapes on New Spain's northern frontier.[21]

OVERVIEW OF EXPEDITIONS

Although each of the seven entradas examined here differed in terms of makeup and geographic reach, they all either sought precious minerals or new routes of travel. Four of the expeditions: Narváez, Soto, Coronado, and Rivera, searched for valuable minerals as their primary objective, often relying on Indigenous peoples to find out more about their location. The other main purpose of the entradas examined here is locating new routes of travel. Both the Anza and Domínguez -Escalante expeditions looked for an overland route to Monterrey, California; Rivera sought a ford of the Colorado River, and Pedro Vial pursued a route to connect Santa Fe with St. Louis. These motivations proved critical, for expedition members endured countless hardships-even death-in their quest for minerals or new pathways between colonial outposts.

To learn what to expect and the resources they would need, expedition leaders gathered all available information about the area through which they planned to travel. Therefore, all seven of the expedition leaders discussed here sought to learn as much as possible from the experiences of other Spaniards, either reading their written accounts, through personal interviews, or even bringing along someone with previous experience in the area. Domínguez and Escalante, for example, both read Rivera's journal and brought along Andrés Muñiz, a member of Rivera's expedition, as an interpreter and guide.[22] Anza, setting out around the same time as Domínguez and Escalante, found a guide in Father Garcés, a frontier priest and pathfinder who had traveled a similar route to the one he planned to take. Coronado too, sought to learn of the land through which

he would travel, and was famously misled by Fray Marcos de Niza whom he interviewed extensively prior to setting out and then also brought along as a guide.

The earliest expedition examined here was led by Governor Pánfilo de Narváez. Landing in Florida in 1528, these Spaniards sought valuable mineral resources like those in the Valley of Mexico. The Narváez expedition began as a large force of considerable military power in search of mineral wealth in Florida but was eventually reduced to a group of only four men who made their way across vast expanses of desert and bush land to northern Mexico. Initially composed of several hundred armed men, the Narváez expedition diminished in size as the Spaniards died of disease, drowned, or fell to the weapons of bellicose Natives. The narrative of the expedition penned by Álvar Nñúez Cabeza de Vaca, one of the four sole survivors, therefore affords an interesting comparison between the outlook and actions of Spaniards with a large force capable of forcing Native peoples into submission, when the expedition began, and a small unarmed group of Spaniards in a land of much more powerful Indigenous peoples as it evolved. As Cabeza de Vaca made his way on an eight-year trek through the territories of various Indigenous groups, he relied on his own astute observations of Indigenous culture and utilization of natural resources to survive. More than any other group of Spaniards on the northern frontier of New Spain, Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions depended on Indigenous knowledge of ecosystems for their survival.[23]

Aiming to succeed where the Narváez expedition had failed, Governor Hernando de Soto attempted in 1538 to discover mineral wealth in what is now the southern United States. Inspired by the wealth generated through the recent conquest of the Inca Empire, he was particularly interested in the purported kingdom of Apalachee, which

turned out not to exist. Soto and his men did, however, succeed in investigating parts of what would become Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, as well as disrupting Mississippian societies they raided to gather information, captives, and supplies, for like Narváez, Soto used armed force to gain access to Indigenous maize stores and labor. When their extensive search for valuable minerals failed to yield results, and a large number of men (including Soto himself) succumbed to the ravages of disease, fatigue, and warfare, the expedition constructed crude boats and made their way to Mexico.[24] Failure to discover mineral wealth resulted in major disappointment to these Spaniards, who "would rather have risked death in the land of Florida than to leave it poor."[25]

According to Marrinan, Scarry, and Majors, Soto took into account information from the survivors of the Narváez expedition, speaking with the recently returned Cabeza de Vaca and even attempting to persuade him to accompany the expedition. Soto, warned of the poor climate and lack of Indigenous food resources in much of Florida, brought a mobile food source (hogs) as well as additional men and horses. He also "took a slightly different route that led him to richer Native polities with more maize."[26]

Soto, in his exhaustive search through southeastern North America, perhaps best exemplifies the strong desire of sixteenth-century Spanish expeditions to find valuable minerals as their contemporaries had in Peru and Mexico. Soto guided his expedition based on rumors of precious metals, at one point even turning toward a sparsely populated mountainous region because he hoped "gold or silver might exist on either side of them."[27] In fact, Soto was so focused on finding mineral wealth that he ignored commercial and agricultural opportunities. At one point he insisted on leaving a fertile area near a large bay and continuing on to the interior of the continent despite the fact

that "all of the men were of the opinion that they should settle in that land as it was an excellent region; that if it were settled, all the ships from New Spain...would come to take advantage of the stop there, for their route passes by there, and as it is good land and suitable for making profits."[28]

In contrast to Soto and Narváez, the third sixteenth-century expedition, that of Governor Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, penetrated what is now the central and southwestern United States. Coronado decided to undertake his expedition after hearing reports of seven wealthy cities to the north of Mexico called Cíbola from a priest named Fray Marcos de Niza who had supposedly visited them. Coronado thus organized a group of over 300 Spaniards and 800 Indian allies to search for gold and other treasures rumored to exist in abundance in large Indian pueblos.[29] Leaving the city of Compostela on February 23, 1540, the expedition traveled through Northern Mexico and much of what is now the American Southwest.[30] Parties sent out by Coronado visited all of the major pueblos of the Southwest, as well as the Colorado River and even the plains of Kansas. However, after finding that silver and gold did not exist in significant quantities, the expedition returned to Mexico.

The three eighteenth-century expeditions studied here differ markedly from the sixteenth-century expeditions of Narváez, Soto, and Coronado. Not only did the leaders of these later expeditions record a day-by-day account of events as they unfolded, but they also sought to trade European material goods for access to Indigenous goods and services. These expeditions therefore not only acted differently than their sixteenth-century counterparts, they also left greater details in the historical record.

On June 22, 1765, Juan María Antonio de Rivera began the first known European

expedition into the plains and mountains of southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah. Like the later Domínguez -Escalante expedition, Rivera began his journey in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Although the first few pages of the journal are missing, it picks up with Rivera leaving Abiquiu, New Mexico and following the Chama River north. He then followed Ute Indian trails along what later became known as the Old Spanish Trail, heading south at the end to follow the San Juan River for a few miles before heading home over the same route. Rivera was ostensibly searching for silver deposits in the region, but in addition he received a mandate from New Mexican governor Tomás Vélez Cachupín to confirm the existence of the Colorado River and reconnoiter the Colorado Plateau.[31] Rivera's diaries make no mention of finding any silver deposits, so either he did not find any, or he wished to keep his discovery a secret. After a long journey on which Ute guides intentionally misled him, Rivera finally located a suitable crossing of the Colorado River near Moab, Utah, and returned to Santa Fe.[32]

On July 29, 1776, The Domínguez -Escalante expedition set out from Santa Fe, New Mexico to develop an overland route to Monterrey, California, following the same route of the Rivera expedition a decade before. Domínguez and Escalante then branched off to the north, crossing into present-day Dinosaur National Park. They then continued west to Utah Valley, where they encountered a band of Utes open to the idea of conversion to Christianity. Upon leaving Utah Valley they continued their journey toward their goal of Monterey, but with the onset of winter, ultimately decided to abandon their quest. The friars then pursued a southern course back to Santa Fe, where they experienced great difficulty finding a suitable crossing of the Colorado River. Eventually, they succeeded in fording the river at an old Indian crossing (now under the

waters of Lake Powell) which later came to be known as "The Crossing of the Fathers," in their honor. The expedition then traveled back to Santa Fe through the territories of several Indigenous groups, namely the Cosninas (Havasupi) and Zuni, who were familiar to the Spaniards. The expedition finally returned to Santa Fe on January 2, 1777, ending its long journey.[33]

Although historically referred to as the Escalante expedition, the Domínguez -Escalante expedition should be described as a joint effort between Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez and Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante. Although Father Domínguez was actually Escalante's ecclesiastical superior, the two Franciscan friars worked as partners, with Domínguez directing the expedition and Escalante acting as the scribe.[34]

Like his contemporaries Domínguez and Escalante, Colonel Juan Bautista de Anza, an accomplished soldier and frontiersman, sought a land route to Monterey, California; in his case from Tubac, Arizona. Although Anza led two expeditions to find a route and lead settlers to San Francisco, California, as well as an expedition from Santa Fe, New Mexico to Arizpe, Sonora, here I examine Anza's first journey as it provides the most comprehensive details of his interactions with Native peoples and landscapes. Anza left Tubac in January of 1774, taking with him a missionary, Father Garcés, who had been through the area three years prior, as well as a Pima guide, who supposedly would be talented at communicating with Indigenous groups in the interior of southwestern North America.[35] After a long journey through the desert, Anza traveled from San Gabriel, California to Monterey and back with just six men. He then returned to Northern Mexico with the rest of his expedition, and eventually traveled on to Mexico

City for an audience with the Viceroy. Anza, although focused on route finding, frequently mentioned silver deposits and discussed possibilities for extracting the metal in the first section of his journal. He likely saw silver mining as a way to attract additional settlers and limit attacks on both Spanish and Indian settlements by Apaches, as fortified mining outposts would block their routes of travel into other areas.[36]

The final expedition I examine is that of Pedro Vial from Santa Fe to St. Louis in 1792-1793. A native of Lyons, France, Pedro Vial, originally Pierre Vial, spent many years traveling and trading on the northern frontier of New Spain. Although Vial officially opened three important routes, I examine his final expedition as it is the longest and highly significant in that later American travelers followed the route he pioneered, calling it the Santa Fe Trail.[37]

As for the Expedition itself, Vial took a fairly straightforward route from Santa Fé to Saint Louis, linking two separate regions (Louisiana and New Mexico) of New Spain. Beginning in Santa Fe, Vial picked up two companions, José Vicente Villanueva and Vicente Espinosa, in the nearby village of Pecos. He then traveled through the territory of Osage and Comanche Indians, relying on their "assistance and knowledge," and eventually arriving in St. Louis.[38] His trip was not without its incidents, however. On June 29, 1792, a group of Kansas Indians attacked Vial and his companions, capturing them and wounding Vicente Villanueva. The Indians then held the men for the next month and a half, finally freeing them on August 16, after which they continued on to the Missouri River and St. Louis.[39]

Having equipped themselves with available knowledge of the area they were about to enter by reading about prior Spanish expeditions or interviewing men who had

visited the area, the seven entradas discussed above set out for New Spain's northern frontier. Once they arrived, Spaniards relied on Indians to obtain foodstuffs, locate water and mineral sources, and serve as guides and interpreters. The following sections discuss various ways in which Indigenous peoples facilitated Spanish expeditions.

FOOD

Of all the goods and services Spaniards obtained from Indigenous peoples, food provides the most consistent comparison between sixteenth-and eighteenth-century expeditions. In contrast to other necessities such as guides, water, and interpreters, which varied depending on the region and its particular environment, expeditions into New Spain's northern frontier needed food no matter the location, environment, or season. Despite efforts to bring animals such as hogs and cattle as a food source, as well as slaughtering horses for meat, Spanish expeditions into the northern frontier of New Spain consumed foodstuffs grown or gathered by Indigenous peoples. As previously discussed, the methods expeditions employed to obtain food, however, changed dramatically over the course of three hundred years.

During the 1500s, expeditions satisfied their need for provisions by raiding the food stores of Native Floridians, Mississippians, and Pueblo agriculturalists. These entradas either directly forced Natives into submission through violence, or used the threat of violence to make Indigenous groups give up their food stores to Europeans with whom they had had no prior contact. In fact, expeditions required indigenous foodstuffs obtained through raiding to sustain themselves, and thus were forced into traveling through areas inhabited by peoples in sizable agricultural villages. Even when desperately attempting to reach northern Mexico via an overland route, Soto's expedition turned around and abandoned their push when they encountered a hostile landscape sparsely populated by nonsedentary Indians who did not have large food stores for the

expedition to exploit. The Gentleman from Elvas describes their situation: "that land beyond the river of Daycao...was of Indians who wandered about like Arabs, without having a settled abode anywhere, subsisting on prickly pears, the roots of plants, and the game they killed. And if that were so, if they entered it and found no food in order to pass the winter, they could not help but perish, for it was already the beginning of October; and if they stayed longer, they could not turn back because of the waters and snows, nor could they feed themselves in such a poor land."[40]

Before they arrived at the distressed state mentioned above, Soto and his men often rested for approximately a month in Indian villages, consuming corn, squash and meat produced by Indigenous labor. These periods of rest allowed the expedition's horses to recuperate from long journeys, as well as permitted the men to regain their strength and recover from injuries sustained in armed conflict with Indigenous peoples. As Indians were usually reluctant to give up the hard-earned food supply they relied on, either the threat of force or a battle was usually necessary to cause Indians to give up their labor and foodstuffs. While displaying a threat of force and/or quickly capturing the group's headman worked well at the large towns of Achese and Patofa, for example, other times, such as at the town of Mavilla, an all out battle in which several Spaniards lost their lives proved necessary to force Indians into submission and gain access to their food supplies.[41]

The Narváez expedition also spent long periods of time in Indigenous villages recuperating and reconnoitering the surrounding area whilst living in their dwellings and subsisting on Indian foodstuffs. The Narváez expedition spent approximately 25 days in the village of Apalachen, for example, expropriating the inhabitants abundant supply of

corn, before repeated attacks by the displaced villagers forced them to move on in search of not only mineral wealth, but also the nearest large village--Atute.[42]

Coronado also valued Indigenous food stores as a way to keep his expedition supplied. In a July 1540 letter, one of his men states that the conquest of a Zuni pueblo was important chiefly because the Spaniards, having run out of food, did not have anything to eat unless they overtook the pueblo. He wrote: "we found what we had more need of than gold or silver, namely, a great quantity of corn, beans, turkeys, and the finest and whitest salt that I have seen in my whole life."[43]

Despite traveling through the arid southwest desert as opposed to the humid southeast as had Narváez and Soto, Coronado also relied on Indigenous food supplies obtained through force as the main method of supplying his men. Soon after being defeated, Indigenous groups presented turkeys, maize and other gifts to the Spaniards. Throughout the account of Coronado expedition member Pedro de Nájera, Spaniards relied on Indigenous food supplies.[44] Often, as at the pueblo of Tusayán, the Native inhabitants initially put up a fight. Faced with decisive Spanish military action, however, they quickly offered food as well as such gifts such as cotton clothing, hides and turquoise.[45] In fact, Coronado and his men were so relentless in attacking Indian settlements to loot their food stores and search for valuable minerals that their negative reputation spread to Native peoples several hundred miles away. According to David Weber, when maritime explorer Juan Cabrillo asked a group of California Indians why they acted so bellicose and shot at men he sent ashore, they answered "'men [similar to Cabrillo and his crew in appearance] were traveling about, bearded, clothed, and armed...killing many Native Indians.'"[46]

In addition to consuming food stores produced by Native Americans directly, Europeans also relied on food sources from North American ecosystems indirectly through their animals that consumed Native forage, fruits, and nuts. In addition to his horses, Soto brought along a large herd of swine, which he used as a food source when the expedition was short on corn, meat, and squash acquired from Indians. These pigs ate native vegetation, thriving in the temperate environment of southeastern North America. In doing so, they reproduced rapidly, increasing in number from thirteen sows in 1528 to a herd of 700 at the time of Soto's death on May 21, 1542.[47] According to environmental historian Alfred Crosby, swine were particularly well-suited to moist, heavily vegetated areas such as the southeast, for they "are omnivorous, and there were more kinds of nourishment available to them in the early colonies across the seas than to any of the species of imported animals that were to be of prime importance economically. They ate practically anything of organic origin: nuts of all kinds, windfall fruit, roots, grasses, any animal too small to defend itself."[48] Hundreds of hogs presented a threat to Indian gathering practices as they consumed seeds, nuts and berries generally consumed by Indigenous inhabitants.

The horses that accompanied Spaniards on their expedition also relied on the ample forage in the vicinity of Native villages where the Soto expedition stayed to recover after fierce battles and long periods of travel. Although Soto and his men may not have realized it, the large quantity of grass in these eastern woodlands was the result of forest management by Native peoples. As discussed by William Cronon in his work *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*, Indians throughout Eastern North America modified forest ecosystems through intentional burning for

optimal forage output that would promote large populations of desirable herbivores such as deer. Thanks to Indian manipulation of ecosystems, this grass, in abandoned fields and sparse forests, also served as optimal forage for Spanish horses.

Although swine were unsuited to the dry, hot climate of the desert southwest, Spanish entradas in this region adapted by bringing along another type of European livestock--cattle. Juan Bautista de Anza, for example, brought along a herd of "sixty five cattle on the hoof" on his first expedition to Alta California.[49] Cattle in the southwest could travel long distances between watering holes and survive on the meager forage available along the way. Cattle thus represented another way for Europeans to exploit North American ecosystems to feed themselves on long inland expeditions.

Without a herd of cattle to sustain them, members of the Domínguez -Escalante expedition bartered for food. Instead of threatening or using violence to acquire Indigenous resources the friars and their party traded for a variety of products, from meat to piñon nuts, throughout the journey. On September 1, 1775 the Spaniards traded with a group of Sabuagana Utes, exchanging white glass beads for jerked bison meat.[50] A month and a half later, Domínguez and Escalante traded with Natives for seeds and cactus pear, even waiting all morning for the Indians to retrieve more provisions so that the expedition could further stock up on supplies.[51]

WATER

In addition to food, expeditions on New Spain's northern frontier needed water to sustain themselves. Although all Spaniards and their livestock required water on a daily basis, only the eighteenth-century journals contain evidence of the pressures to acquire this scare resource. In part, this is due to the distinct environments through which the expeditions traveled. As Soto and Narváez traveled through the southeast, where water was abundant, they struggled more with an excess of water than with the necessity of finding drinking sources. That Cabeza de Vaca and Coronado traveled through the arid southwestern deserts and failed to record the struggle to find water, however, signifies that recording a lack of water was more than a function of climate. The preoccupation with water in the seventeenth-century journals, it turns out, is a function of whether the accounts were recorded contemporaneously or long after the event, as discussed earlier.

How did expeditions obtain water? Although Indian guides familiar with a general area often led them to water sources, Spaniards in the southwest sometimes offered European goods or even used physical force to convince Natives to guide them to nearby water sources. As surviving in arid desert environments required an intimate knowledge of the landscape obtained through generations of living in a region, Native peoples knew the exact location of both seasonal and permanent waterholes scattered throughout the landscape. While Native peoples throughout North America had this knowledge, the Seri people of Sonora provide a well-documented example.

As a nonsedentary people who inhabited the extremely dry coastal desert of

northwestern Mexico, the Seris embodied the keen knowledge of landscapes and the natural resources within them required to survive; strategies with which expeditions in the desert southwest were unfamiliar and had to adopt to survive. The Seris developed emergency substitutes for water to deal with shortages, namely sea turtle serum and juice from barrel and agave cactuses.[52] An intimate knowledge of the landscape allowed the Seris to survive in their desert stronghold and elude Spanish soldiers who pursued them, as inhabiting the area for hundreds of years gave the Seri peoples a detailed knowledge of where scare water holes could be found. As Thomas Sheridan notes in *Empire in the Sand: The Seri Indians and the Struggle for Spanish Sonora, 1645-1803* "Because of the mobile nature of Seri society, the Comcáac [Seris] were able to take advantage of seasonal water sources...thirst was one of the Comcáac's greatest allies."[53] Although the lack of water in the Seri's remote desert landscape usually kept invading Spaniards at bay, they used their knowledge of landscapes and water sources to retreat into strongholds in the sierra of both the mainland and Tiburón Island (a large island in the Gulf of California), poisoning obvious water holes with dead animal carcasses and other bio-contaminants.

An example from the Domínguez -Escalante expedition shows that Ute peoples knew how to locate hidden water holes in similar ways to their Seri counterparts. On October 18, 1775, the Escalante expedition passed through a valley with abundant pasturage but no water. In a state of great thirst several members pursued a small group of Indians who were hiding in the area, evidently too fearful to approach the Spaniards, and traded cloth in exchange for leading them to a source of water. Having succeeded in finding water, the Spaniards drank and afterward allowed the horses to quench their

thirst, reportedly draining both pools.[54] Only then did the expedition, having been delayed by the need for water, continue on its way.

Spaniards relied on information provided by Native guides on distances between water sources as well as their specific locations. So as not to run out of water, southwestern expeditions sometimes broke marches in half or started out early to reach the next water source by nightfall. An example of this reliance on Native knowledge to decide how far to travel in a day comes from the September 10, 1775 entry of the Domínguez -Escalante journal, when "because, according to the guide the next water source was quite far away and even if we were to start early we could not reach it today, we decided to cut the day's march in half."[55]

Although the eighteenth-century expeditions studied here sought peaceful relations with Native peoples and therefore did not use violence to coerce them into performing labor through violent means, they occasionally tracked down Indians and captured them temporarily to find out about water and even pasturage.[56] A fine example of this dependence on Native knowledge of the landscape comes from the March 7, 1774 entry in Juan Bautista de Anza's diary. Anza sent out a search party for water, which in turn looked for Indians who might know where water could be found. The corporal leading the party "having discovered six heathen...took them so by surprise that they were unable to escape. He asked them for water though gesturing that that he suffered from a lack of it, and they gave him some of what they were carrying for themselves, telling him that close by there was an abundance of it in wells, which they showed him."[57]

In the eighteenth century, expeditions comprised of men who had spent many years in northern New Spain readily heeded the advice of Indigenous allies in timing their

travel through extremely arid areas of the southwest. The actions of Rivera expedition are a great example. When a Paiute leader, El Capitán Chino, enumerated the dangers of crossing the Colorado Plateau in the middle of summer, including the lack of water, intense heat, and a dearth of pasturage, but promised to guide him to the river if he returned "when the poplar leaves are falling," Rivera agreed to come back later.[58] Convinced that returning in the fall, when there would be more water and pasturage, would be advantageous, Rivera took leave of the Paiutes and returned to New Mexico where he awaited the end of summer.

Overall, water proved to be the most vital resource for expeditions in the southwest. Although limitations of the sources preclude a comparison between Coronado and the eighteenth-century expeditions, the above examples demonstrate that Native peoples played a key role in Spanish expeditions through locating water sources. As both Spaniards and their stock required water on a daily basis to carry out both wealth-seeking and route-finding activities, Indigenous knowledge of water availability represented an essential area of indigenous assistance.

GUIDES

With food and water to sustain them, Spanish expeditions next had to navigate unfamiliar landscapes in search of their specific goal, either precious metals or distant destinations. Although the strategies for recruiting guides changed somewhat, with later expeditions largely refraining from using force to impress guides into their service, Natives familiar with local landscapes conducted Spanish groups through their territory and interpreted Indigenous tongues throughout the colonial period. Indeed, expeditions experienced far more success in demystifying the complex physical and cultural landscapes of North America when accompanied by Native guides and interpreters, than without them.

In interpreting landscapes, Indians played two major roles: as guides through unfamiliar territory and as sources of information on the location of food and water. The canyon country of the desert southwest was extremely difficult to navigate without an intimate knowledge of landmarks. While the Domínguez -Escalante expedition, in turning around and heading back to New Mexico rather than going on to Monterey, California, best exemplifies the difficulties of routefinding, all of the expeditions experienced navigational difficulties to one extent or another.

Because the Spaniards discussed in this paper traveled through lands entirely or almost entirely new to Europeans, guides were extremely valuable. As with food, expeditions with different resources and diplomatic strategies went about acquiring guides through various means; for example, Soto captured Indians for service as guides,[59]

whereas Domínguez and Escalante offered to trade valuable goods. Nonetheless, both of the aforementioned entradas clearly considered Indigenous people's knowledge of local landscapes essential to travelling successfully. In fact, Soto and his men considered an interpreter to be of such importance that one expedition member wrote: "The governor and all of the men...could in no wise travel without an interpreter."[60]

Traveling through areas claimed by Spain but not under firm control militarily caused eighteenth-century entradas to trade European manufactured goods for guiding services just as they did for food. Thus, when expeditions in the later period found Indigenous people who could guide them, they were willing to trade substantial amounts of goods for the service. Domínguez and Escalante, for example, paid a Laguna Ute "a woolen blanket, a large all purpose knife, and white glass beads" to accompany them for a portion of their journey.[61]

Without a guide to help them find a good ford, crossing the Colorado River on the return trip to Santa Fe presented a major obstacle to the Domínguez-Escalante expedition, for they spent twelve days attempting to cross it. The size of the river, compared to others the expedition had encountered, called for extraordinary efforts in getting safely to the other side, including: the construction of a raft; detailed reconnaissance of possible places to cross; and sending selected members of the expedition across to test the ford.[62] The Colorado presented a major barrier because of a swift current, the river's sheer size, and geographic features near the river formed by erosion and hydrologic action.

The Domínguez - Escalante expedition first attempted to cross the Colorado near where it initially arrived at the river above the Paria rapids; here the river was deep and wide with sticky muck on either bank in which the horses could become mired.[63]

Nonetheless, Fathers Domínguez and Escalante made several attempts to ford the river, beginning by sending two of the group's best swimmers to scout the river and the opposite bank. The men lost their clothes part way across and were so exhausted by the crossing that, "naked and barefoot," they were unable to explore on the other side and barely made it back across to rejoin their companions even after a long rest.[64] Father Escalante, along with other men, next tried their luck with a crude raft they had constructed, but failed to make it all the way across. After this defeat, the fathers decided to look for a crossing elsewhere and dispatched a group of men to reconnoiter the area. These men searched for a better ford, where the horses could cross easily and everyone could make it to the other side safely, without losing animals or supplies.

Despite having questioned all of the Natives they had encountered on their way to the Colorado River, Domínguez and Escalante were able to ascertain only that a good ford existed in the region. They did not know where it was located; nor could they convince any Indians to guide them to it.[65] After another nine days of searching, the expedition finally arrived at the ford, which came to known as the famous "Crossing of the Fathers." Even at this spot, it took them all day to cross the mighty Colorado.[66] After finally crossing the river, Escalante deeply lamented the vast amount of time and effort wasted due to not having a guide, remarking: "having had no one to guide us...we made many detours, and wasted time spending so many days making such little headway, and suffered hunger and thirst."[67]

In crossing rivers, both sixteenth and eighteenth-century entradas not only relied on Indian guides to reach fords, but also on Indigenous resources to accomplish the physical act of crossing. Although in offering aid Indians usually just helped Spaniards

transport their packs and animal herds across, sometimes they engaged in major efforts to get Spanish expeditions on their way (and out of their lands). In one of the more extreme examples, the chief of Casqui had his men construct a bridge "which was constructed of wood in the manner of beams extending from tree to tree" across a large river for the Soto expedition.[68]

Like Soto, Anza too relied on Indigenous assistance in crossing rivers. A Yuma chief, Captain Palma, and 600 members of his group showed the expedition the best ford to cross the Colorado, and ensured that they did so safely by providing direct assistance in guiding the mule herd and even helping to carry supplies.[69]

Navigating the canyon country of the Colorado Plateau early in their journey proved difficult for Domínguez and Escalante. When the expedition encountered a Tabehuachi Ute on August 23, 1775, for example, the friars questioned him extensively for information about the availability of water, pasturage, and landmarks that would assist the Spaniards in their travels.[70]

Claiming he was looking for silver and trading opportunities, Rivera had a difficult time convincing various Ute bands that he did not represent a threat of Spanish settler or military incursions into their lands if he were to learn about the Colorado River and where it could be crossed. Because he had to rely on Native guides, Rivera had no option but to follow several Indians on a circuitous route as they attempted to convince him to turn around, that finding the ford was very difficult, and even that they did not know where it was. Clearly, Indians in the late colonial period were fully aware of Spanish strength and intentions, and thus attempted to keep Spaniards from invading the lands they knew so well and sought to keep as their own.

Rivera and his men also sought Indigenous guidance to locations bearing silver ore, investing considerable time in tracking down and appeasing Indians they believed had knowledge of silver deposits. Especially of interest was a man named Cuero de Lobo, who had sold a large silver nugget (big enough to construct several rosaries with crosses) in Santa Fe and told Rivera the general area in which it was found.[71]

When the Spaniards failed to locate Cuero de Lobo, they sought out an old woman who supposedly knew about the location of silver ore, traveling several leagues to see her. Despite regaling the woman with gifts, they failed to convince her to accompany them to the exact location of the silver deposits, although they did get directions to a place where "after a little effort one can remove nuggets like the one which...[a silversmith in Abiquiu] made into two rosaries and a cross."[72] Rather than taking the woman and her leader captive, as Coronado or Soto would likely have done, Rivera and his men left in search of the deposits themselves, even giving the chief a horse "to make him happy."[73]

Sometimes existing trails meant that expeditions did not need to depend heavily on guides. These trails, however, were actually established routes of Indian traders and raiders moving between Spanish settlements and their homelands. According to G. Clell Jacobs, Rivera often followed older trails established by Native Americans and traders that ran alongside watercourses or led from one water source to the next.[74]

On his expeditions to identify a route to California and later lead settlers to establish the colony of San Francisco, Anza followed a system of established Indian routes from water source to water source through the arid southwestern landscape. As indicated by his frequent comments on raids by nonsedentary Apaches, Anza's route was,

in fact, the same route traveled by Apache raiders who preyed on semisedentary Indians and Spanish outposts.[75] The Apaches posed a problem for semisedentary Indians who practiced limited agriculture, because they stole food and livestock, limiting the amount of resources these semisedentary Indians had to survive in the harsh desert climate.

Anza also relied on Native peoples to find out about possible routes of travel and the availability of water, asking Indians he encountered which way would be the best and least punishing way to cross the desert southwest.[76] When Anza and his men found water, it was often in areas well known to local Indians. On Tuesday, February 1, 1774, for example, Anza arrived at a watering place of six large rainwater-filled potholes enhanced by Pápago Natives which he named La Purificación. These tanks, which proved essential in allowing the stock to be "well provided with water," were far from a mystery to local Pápago Natives, however. The Pápagos had dwellings located near the tanks, and considered the area sacred, piling up the horns of wild sheep to keep the spirits of these animals satisfied.[77]

In addition to enlisting the help of Natives in locating water sources, it turns out that an Indian Anza encountered, Sebástian Tarabal, had recently traveled a nearly identical route to the one Anza wished to take while fleeing from the mission of San Gabriel. Anza enlisted Tarabal as his guide. According to David Weber, Tarabal played a critical role in the expedition as he recognized important landmarks and kept the expedition on course.[78] This account stands in stark contrast to much of the previous literature on the Anza expedition, which, as I have argued earlier, downplays and often ignores the role of indigenous peoples. In his book *Colonel Anza's Impossible Journey*, for example, Jonreed Lauritzen paints indigenous peoples as playing only minor roles and

even detracting from the expedition's objectives. Through downplaying the importance of Indigenous goods and services with comments such as "Anza would have been happy to eat a simple supper of dried beef, biscuit, and chocolate and then roll up on the ground to rest. But [Indigenous leader] Palma insisted that he and his men share with them a feast of fish, squash, and corn," Lauritzen actively ignores the historical evidence that Indians played a central role in the Anza expedition.[79]

Like Anza, Pedro Vial sought to establish gift-alliances with Indians along his route and employ Native guides to help him find his way. As his expedition consisted of only a handful of men and he was traveling through the territory of potentially hostile Indians, however, Vial had to use skilled diplomacy and gift distribution to win over Native leaders. On his voyage from Santa Fe to St. Louis and back, Vial took a large quantity of goods to distribute to Indians through whose territory they would have to pass; his list for the return trip included including twenty-seven shirts and handkerchiefs, an assortment of metal buttons, fifty pounds of tobacco, and two hundred gun flints.[80]

Despite being familiar with the general area he was traveling through, Vial brought several Indian guides with him, and picked up guides and escorts along the way. After establishing very positive relations with a large group of Pawnees, for example, Vial wrote, "Before setting out, I regaled them with various items from those that I carried, and I set out from said village with seven of them, who accompanied me."[81]

Although Vial was an experienced frontiersman, other expedition leaders, such as Domínguez and Escalante, were not. Because of their intimate knowledge of Native territories and alliances, Indian guides and interpreters sometimes saw dangers that these religious men did not. Domínguez and Escalante's Ute guides demonstrated this

practical knowledge when they sought to arm themselves before traveling through the territory of hostile Comanches. Rather than seek arms as well, the friars expressed anger that their guides had procured weapons. They believed that God would protect them from the Comanches if the expedition showed faith through traveling essentially unarmed![82]

INTERPRETERS

In the northern frontier of New Spain, language interpreters were almost as important as the interpreters of landscapes. Indeed, the two were closely linked in far flung areas of the empire where navigation was difficult and understanding directions, as well as vital information on the location of natural resources and Indigenous groups, demanded clear communication. Thus, although as Mathew Restall argues: "in the early decades of the Conquest, it was by the sword and compass that the Spaniards most successfully communicated [with the peoples of sedentary empires]" the vast sparsely inhabited expanses of the northern frontier presented a very different situation and questions regarding navigation and resource availability often required an interpreter.[83]

Interpreters were of paramount importance in communicating with Native peoples to establish alliances, gain access to natural resources, and find routes of travel in unfamiliar territory. Lacking an interpreter thus caused Spaniards a great deal of frustration, as seen in an October 20, 1541 letter sent by Coronado to the King of Spain during his expedition in search of the Seven Cities of Cíbola. In the letter Coronado describes the diversity of languages in the Colorado Plateau and his lack of interpreters as "causing him great difficulty."[84] Although Coronado and his men eventually made it back to Mexico, having interpreters would have allowed for a smoother and more efficient journey.

Likewise, Spanish expeditions tolerated interpreters they felt were unreliable because a bad interpreter was better than no interpreter at all. Soto and his men, for

example, retained an Indian boy they named Perico as a guide and interpreter despite the fact that they placed little trust in him. Referring to Perico, survivors of the expedition wrote: "No credit was given to him because of the lies in which he had been found; but everything was endured in him because of the need of him to tell what the Indians said."[85]

An understanding of words, however, did not mean that the other group would necessarily accept the story told. Spaniards had to use either the promise of enticing goods or the threat of force to cause Native peoples to yield to their demands. Soto, for example, tried the often-used strategy of telling a Native chief that he was the son of the sun. The chief was immediately incredulous, and challenged Soto to prove his assertion by drying up a nearby river.[86]

Indians often tried to dissuade Europeans with fantastic tales of their own. On the 16 of July, 1765, Rivera mentioned to a group of Paiutes that he was interested in finding out about the Colorado River and asked if anyone could guide him to a place where he could cross it. The Paiutes, however, set out to convince him that he should not proceed, but rather come back at a later date. They told fantastic tales about Indians who killed people with vapors, and a vicious beast that dwelt in a tunnel through which one had to pass to arrive at the Colorado River.[87]

CONCLUSION

Based on the journals of seven Spanish expeditions, three from the sixteenth century and four from the eighteenth, Indigenous peoples clearly played a vital and indispensable role in Spanish expeditions on the northern frontier of New Spain, providing food, water, guides, and interpreters to entradas traveling thorough a foreign landscape. Although Spaniards' objectives for expeditions into frontier areas of North America changed over the centuries that they ventured into the interior of the continent, their dependence on Indigenous products and knowledge continued throughout the colonial period.

The ways in which Spaniards interacted with Native peoples to make use of their foodstuffs and services, however, changed tremendously over the course of two and a half centuries. When Vial, Anza, Rivera, and Domínguez -Escalante encountered independent semisedentary and nonsedentary peoples who had horses and often European arms, they did not seek to directly subjugate them. Instead, they traded commodities for goods, services, and alliances that would strengthen Spain's hold on the northern fringes of an empire increasingly threatened by Russian and British interests. While many factors precipitated this change from the pillaging of the sixteenth century, the most influential were a lack of Spanish military superiority due to small expedition sizes and the types of Indigenous peoples encountered. Lacking a monopoly on mounted warfare and faced with the possibility of ambush by stealthy and mobile Natives familiar with local geography, later expeditions chose to provide assurances of alliance

and distribute gifts in exchange for safe passage, services and foodstuffs.

In addition, generations of exposure to Spanish material goods increased the allure and utility of these products to Native peoples. Guns facilitated victory over other groups armed only with bows and lances, and metal knives enabled Indians to carry out everyday tasks such as butchering and skinning game much more efficiently. Ornaments such as glass beads also appealed to Indigenous peoples, who, knowing that the Spanish could send out punitive military expeditions, refrained from simply attacking eighteenth-century entradas and taking all of their goods.

The climate of the areas through which Spaniards traveled also proved an important, though easy to overlook, factor in determining both the composition and itinerary of entradas. Sparse vegetation and lack of surface water meant that many areas of the Southwest could support neither sedentary polities of Indians nor large expeditions. After plundering its way through the Southeast, Soto's entrada abandoned its overland push to Mexico and turned around on the plains of Texas, where the men realized that nonsedentary peoples who inhabited the area lacked the maize stores on which the large group of men relied for food. Likewise forced to bend to the demands of the arid southwest landscape, Coronado's expedition focused its travels on areas inhabited by Pueblo agriculturalists with a large supply of maize, dividing into small subgroups to reconnoiter sparsely inhabited areas of the Great Plains and Colorado Plateau.

Later expedition organizers therefore took the limitations of the desert southwest into consideration when planning their entradas. Facing royal orders prohibiting expeditions of conquest and limited on a practical level by both a lack of military superiority and a dearth of large concentrations of Indigenous agriculturalists, Rivera,

Dominquez-Escalante, Anza, and Vial limited the size of their expeditions. These men also either brought along cattle, as in Anza's case, or relied on trading with the semi and nonsedentary peoples they encountered, as did Vial and Dominguez-Escalante. Taking into consideration the realities of both the climate and the Indigenous societies they encountered allowed eighteenth-century entradas not only to survive their journey, but also to succeed in traveling though the complicated terrain of desert and grassland to reach distant Spanish outposts.

Scholars have given little space to the indispensable role of Indigenous peoples in Spanish expeditions onto New Spain's northern frontier. Perhaps this is changing, and writers of the twenty-first century will give a strong voice to the Indigenous peoples who guided European "explorers" through landscapes they had inhabited for generations. Indians, it seems, are as key to opening up new frontiers in scholarship as they were to navigating the northern frontier of New Spain.

NOTES

[1] Phillip Wayne Powell. *Soldiers, Indians, and Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550-1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), 3.

[2] Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk. eds., *Indian Conquistadores: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007). Matthew Restall. *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 99.

[3] David J. Weber *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 124.

[4] John L. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest: A Narrative History of Colonial New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), xiii.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Late seventeenth-century expeditions do, however, provide insight into a transitional stage in Spanish-indigenous interactions on New Spain's northern frontier. Diego De Vargas, for example, combined diplomacy and decisive violent action to recolonize New Mexico during the mid-1690s following the Pueblo Revolt a decade before. He offered Native groups material incentives for rejoining the Spanish fold, and rewarded indigenous allies with Spanish material goods and a share of any spoils they helped to capture in battle.

[7] David J. Weber. *The Spanish Frontier in North America*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 250.

[8] Ibid., 78.

[9] Ibid., 74.

[10] Weber, *Bárbaros*, 174.

[11] Ibid., 86.

[12] Ibid., 52-53.

[13] Ibid., 82.

[14] Juan Bautista de Anza. "Diario de Juan Bautista de Anza 9 de enero - 27 de mayo, 1774," (Web de Anza, 1999), http://anza.uoregon.edu/anza74sp.html, 29.

[15] Weber, *Bárbaros*, 186.

[16] Ibid., 186.

[17] Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, 254.

[18] Cynthia Radding. *Landscapes of Power and Identity: Comparative Histories in the Sonoran Desert and the Forests of Amazonia from Colony to Republic* (Durham: Duke University Press. 2006), 71.

[19] Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, 108.

[20] James Alexander Robertson. *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539-1543*. ed. Lawrence A. Clayton. Vernon James Knight. jr.. Edward C. Moore. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993).

[21] For a detailed discussion of these topics, see Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) and Susan M. Deeds, *Defiance and Deference in Mexico's Colonial North: Indians under Spanish Rule in Nueva Vizcaya* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

[22] Chavez, *The Domínguez-Escalante Journal*, 4, 13.

[23] Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. "Relación de Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca" in *Álvar Nñúez Cabeza de Vaca: His Account, His Life, and the Expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez*, trans. and ed. Rolena Adorno and Patrick Charles Pautz. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003).

[24] Gentleman from Elvas. "True Relation of the Hardships Suffered by Governor Hernando de Soto & Certain Portuguese Gentlemen During the Discovery of the Province of Florida , Now newly set forth by a Gentleman of Elvas," trans. and ed. James Alexander Robertson in *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539-1543,* ed. Lawrence A. Clayton, Vernon James Knight, jr., Edward C. Moore. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993).

[25] Ibid., 148.

[26] Rochelle A. Marrinan, John F. Scarry, and Rhonda L. Majors. "Prelude to de Soto: The Expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez." in *Columbian Consequences* v.2, ed. David Hurst Thomas (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).

[27] Elvas, *Relation*, 122.

[28] Ibid., 84.

[29] Pedro de Nájera. "La Relación de la Jornada de Cíbola" in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539-1542: "They were not Familiar With His Majesty, Nor Did They Wish to Be His Subjects*" ed. Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint. (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 2005), 440.

[30] Ibid., 442.

[31] Juan María Antonio de Rivera. "The 1765 Diaries of Juan Maria Antonio de Rivera." in *Borderland Pathfinders: The 1765 Diaries of Juan María Antonio de Rivera*, ed. Austin Nelson Leiby (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1985), 90-93.

[32] Interestingly, Rivera's journal remained hidden from historians until Austin Nelson Leiby discovered it in the Archivo de las Indias in Seville in the mid-1970s. Perhaps because the journal only recently came to light, the Rivera Expedition is the most obscure of the expeditions analyzed in this work.

[33] Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, *The Domínguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776*, trans. Fray Angélico Chavez. ed. Ted J. Warner. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1972).

[34] Ibid., xv.

[35] Anza, *Diario de Juan Bautista de Anza*, Preliminares.

[36] Anza, *Diario de Juan Bautista de Anza.*

[37] Noel M. Loomis and Abraham P. Nasatir. *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), xv-xvi.

[38] Ibid., 371.

[39] Pedro Vial. "Pedro Vial form Santa Fe to St. Louis, May 21 to October 3, 1792" in *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe*. Noel M. Loomis and Abraham P. Nasatir, trans. &

eds. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 376-378.

[40] Elvas, *Relation*, 147.

[41] Ibid., 76, 80.

[42] Cabeza de Vaca, *Relación*, 56,58,60.

[43] "Tanslado de las nuevas" (narativo anónimo) in Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition,* 295.

[44] Nájera, "La Jornada de Cíbola. in Flint, *Documents of the Coronado* Expedition, 435-493.

[45] Ibid., 450-451.

[46] Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, 41.

[47] Elvas, *Relation*, 138.

[48] Alfred Crosby. *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993). 174.

[49] Anza, *Diario*, Preliminares.

[50] Vélez de Escalante, *Domínguez-Escalante Journal,* 149.

[51] Ibid., 180.

[52] Mary Beck Moser and Richard Stephen Felger. *People of the Desert and Sea: Ethnobotany of the Seri Indians* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992), 85.

[53]Thomas E. Sheridan. *Empire of Sand: The Seri Indians and th Struggle for Spanish Sonora, 1645-1803* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999), 8.

[54] Vélez de Escalante, *Domínguez-Escalante Journal*, 179.

[55] Ibid., 154.

[56] Anza, *Diario,* 55.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Rivera, *1765 Diaries*, 134.

[59] Elvas, *Relation*, 56.

[60] Ibid., 126.

[61] Vélez de Escalante, *Domínguez-Escalante Journal*, 147.

[62] Ibid., 184-188.

[63] Ibid., 185.

[64] Ibid., 184.

[65] Ibid., 183.

[66] Ibid., 184-187.

[67] Ibid., 188.

[68] Elvas, *Relation*, 116.

[69] Anza, *Diario*, 32.

[70] Vélez de Escalante, *Domínguez-Escalante Journal*, 143.

[71] Rivera, *1765 Diaries*, 112.

[72] Ibid., 118.

[73] Ibid.

[74] G. Clell Jacobs, "The Phantom Pathfinder: Juan María Antonio de Rivera and His Expedition," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 60: 3 (1992), 203-204.

[75] Anza, *Diario*, 117.

[76] Ibid., 37.

[77] Ibid., 24.

[78] Weber, *Spanish Frontier*, 252.

[79] Lauritzen, Jonreed. *Colonel Anza's Impossible Journey.* (New York: G.P. Putnam Sons. 1966), 22.

[80] Zenon Trudeau. "Trudeau to Carondelet, No. 90, St. Louis, July 10, 1793" in *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe*. Noel M. Loomis and Abraham P. Nasatir, trans. & eds. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 394.

[81] Pedro Vial. "Pedro Vial form St. Louis to Santa Fe, June 14-November 16, 1793" in *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe*. Noel M. Loomis and Abraham P. Nasatir, trans. & eds. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 401.

[82] Vélez de Escalante, *Dominguez-Escalante Journal*, 150.

[83] Restall, *Seven Myths,* 99.

[84] Francisco Vázquez de Coronado "Letter to the King of Spain" in Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition,* 324.

[85] Elvas, *Relation*, 86.

[86] Ibid.,134.

[87] Rivera, *1765 Diaries*, 134, 136.

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